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THE NATION

Dixon-Yates — Why it stinks

By Lawrence Emery

EDGAR H. DIXON and Eugene Adams Yates are two northerners who swing a lot of weight in the South—and in Eisenhower's Big Business administration. Both were born in New Jersey; both maintain offices in New York's financial district; both control powerful electric utility holding companies in the South and Southeast. With Eisenhower's personal blessing, they have formed a syndicate to muscle in on the Tennessee Valley Authority, greatest public power development in the nation.

By last week the Dixon-Yates contract with the government was the smelliest thing in Washington. The Administration was still pushing for its completion, but opponents predicted the deal would never go through and might touch off a "power trust" probe to rival the sensational investigations of the Thirties.

THE GOLDEN DREAM: The Dixon-Yates scheme was first dreamed up in Eisenhower's Budget Bureau last December. Under its terms, the Atomic Energy Commission would contract

Herblock in Washington Post

Warm days at the steam plant.

with the syndicate to build a 650,000-kilowatt electric generating plant to be tied into the TVA system as replacement for a similar amount of power supplied the AEC by TVA. The syndicate would get a risk-free guaranteed 9% profit on its investment, would receive power rates well in excess of what

(Continued on Page 5)

This is the situation at the East River and Forty-Second Street

At the UN Assembly the sessions have been marked by Soviet delegate Vishinsky's (l.) persistent demands that the Assembly discuss disarmament—with broad compromises offered—and the dangerous undeclared war on the China coast. While U.S. delegate Lodge (r.) insists that the U.S. "will not run away" from debate, he is taking a gingerly approach to the new disarmament proposals and has succeeded in having the China discussions put off until after the Nov. 2 elections.

'JOE'S IN DEEP FREEZE, BUT . . .

Lamont, 2 others indicted for contempt; he sees a key test on Bill of Rights

CORLISS LAMONT, author and philosophy lecturer at Columbia University, was indicted for contempt of the Senate by a federal grand jury Oct. 14 together with lawyer Abraham Unger and engineer Albert Shadowitz. The indictments arose out of the citing of the First Amendment by all three in refusing to answer Sen. McCarthy's questions at committee hearings last year. On the next day Lamont pleaded not guilty and was released in $2,000 bail, after U.S. Atty. Lloyd McMahon had described him as "one of the greatest apologists for communist causes . . . a man of fine family who comes here with a silver sickle in his hand."

Lamont issued this statement:

"I have faith that our courts will ultimately uphold my position that McCarthy, summoning me before his committee because I wrote a book he didn't approve, violated my rights as a citizen by asking me improper questions which violated freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

"The Watkins Senate Committee has already pointed the way by showing that McCarthy's treatment of General Zwicker was inexcusable, and by recommending reforms in the procedures of Congressional investigating committees.

"The American Bill of Rights is the greatest constitutional document on civil liberties in the history of mankind. It is our proudest possession. Each generation must defend it anew. As part of this continuing struggle, I gladly enter into the legal battle that now confronts me."

FIVE GROUNDS: "The violation of freedom of speech and press is only one part of my case," Lamont told the GUARDIAN. These were the other issues on which he would fight:

- Tripartite separation of powers: "McCarthy usurped the powers of the judiciary";
- "Since McCarthy's committee is the Committee on Government Operations, he had no jurisdiction over a private citizen never employed by the federal government";
- "The Committee at that point was incompetent and illegal since all three Democratic members had resigned over the J. B. Matthews controversy";
- "I shall also raise the question of legality of one-man committees."

CORLISS & MARGARET LAMONT
23 counts: not guilty

THIS ISSUE

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Dr. DuBois reviews Belfrage's book *Page 4*

A ghost walks a college campus *Page 11*

REPORT TO READERS

Vol. 7 No. 1 — we're 6 years old!

With this issue NATIONAL GUARDIAN begins its seventh year of publication. Appropriate to this occasion, we believe, are the following comments of our editor and founder, Cedric Belfrage, at the rally Sept. 30 in support of his fight against deportation.

WE SURELY NEED to be very realistic about the extent of the infection that has been spread in American minds. We progressives in America see the situation quite sharply from our point of view, which we believe to be the point of view of history as it is and as it moves. But let us not be blind to the fact that the majority of Americans are under the spell of a few men who rule their destinies and mold their minds—and these rulers and molders can only be properly described as Know-Nothings who make a glory out of knowing nothing, because to know is to shatter the entire edifice of fraud that has been built up.

In the context of their illogic nothing is more logical than to try and destroy the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which now for six years has continued to expose their bankruptcy in the searchlight of facts. We have spoken truth about the Korean war. We have spoken truth about the martyred Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, about the six men of Trenton, about the continuing gangsterism and piracy and provocation against socialist countries that have been sponsored by the Truman and Eisenhower governments, about the total humbug of the proceedings against the Communist Party for "conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow."

The government has started by conspiring to advocate the overthrow of such publications; has proceeded from there to advocating their overthrow; and finally, in the effort to deport me and other editors, has arrived at the stage of actual overthrowing. The commercial press, very well aware by now on which side its bread is buttered, is enacting the final abject stages of the lickspittle role which it assumed when Wash-

(Continued on Page 2)

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THE MAIL BAG

Betrayed in London

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The unblushing impudence of high governmental officials telling us that the London agreement on Germany was "the greatest diplomatic achievement of our time." What do they think we are, a multitude of dunces?

The agreement is nothing but another of a long chain of cold-blooded betrayals of the solemn pledge made to soldiers of the allied countries in the first and the second world wars, that their sacrifice would never be in vain; that German militarism was to be permanently abolished. That pledge was violated by the signatories of the London agreement. Shame, and again shame! John Owen

A good starter

DENVER, COLO.

Why don't you have a How Candid Can You Get Dept.? The enclosed bit, from the Denver Post, Oct. 3, is an entry for it:

"Gen. Griffin [Martin E. Griffin, commander of Fitzsimons Hospital in Denver], present at President Eisenhower's examination at Fitzsimons, calls Ike the 'ideal' patient who does what he is told, submits to necessary tests without complaint and doesn't ask too many questions." R. C. A.

Fleas and figs

REDONDO BEACH, CALIF.

It's disturbing to see Dr. Dulles hip-hopping like a disastrous flea all over the globe, stirring up war and mis-naming it peace. We are at the end of an old era, and the beginning of a new era, but this frantic supporter of a past regime doesn't seem to know that, like Humpty-Dumpty, "All the king's horses, and all the king's men cannot put Humpty-Dumpty together again."

There is always this fight to hold on to an outdated status quo by those who profit by it and by those whose reactionary minds resist anything new. History notes how bitterly the Federalists schemed against "foul, diabolic Democracy," and worked to maintain colonial rule in the U.S.A.; how angry crowds surrounded the first railroad train and tried to wreck its engine, shouting that "God never wanted men to travel faster than their legs could carry them"; how slave-holders leaped to their guns to oppose freedom for the Negro—all this is part of the program pattern, when a progressive step is taken in the world; and the sooner dull reactionaries realize that they are hopelessly out of date, the better chance we shall have of the peaceful world promised to us: when "they shall sit—every man—under his own vine and his own fig tree, and none shall make them afraid." C. H. Turvey

How crazy can you get dept.

In Washington, D. C., it was discovered that the Soviet Embassy was preparing to establish a special school . . . for the children of Russian diplomats. . . . A special schoolmistress is being imported from Russia. . . . An official of the AFL American Fedn. of Teachers intends to challenge the Russian boast about Communism being the greatest friend of trade unionism. [He] plans to send a union application blank to the new Russian teacher to see whether she will be permitted to join. The challenge will be particularly interesting because the AFL union bars Communists from membership.

—Labor's Daily (clipping undated).

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Irving Friedman, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The old one-two

BERGEN, N. D.

The McCarthyite atmosphere seems to have lifted somewhat and people are beginning to stand upright again and inhale lungfuls of freedom's air. Thanks to the GUARDIAN.

We farmers are certainly taking a beating because of the administration's policies. With lower acreage forced upon us and a cut in price per bushel, we will go down as surely as a boxer getting a one-two punch. Wm. Mossness

The Sobell case

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have just returned from a 2-week trip on the Sobell case to Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, St. Louis and Cleveland.

The results were encouraging. I spoke with hundreds of people, including many prominent attorneys, clergymen, community leaders, labor leaders, and persons interested in civil liberties. Virtually everyone listened carefully to the facts in the case and seemed shocked at Morton Sobell's imprisonment in Alcatraz. Many agreed to write James V. Bennett, Director of Prisons, Justice Dept., Washington, D. C., urging that Morton Sobell be removed to a regular federal prison. Some agreed to take the matter up in various organizations.

There seemed to be a general acceptance of the fact that in the light of the many injustices during the past few years, Morton Sobell could well have been wrongfully convicted. The fact that Roy Cohn was a chief prosecutor in the case raised many eyebrows.

I am convinced that if people throughout the country will take the facts in the case to prominent individuals in their cities, as well as to the public in general, we can be successful in getting Morton Sobell removed from Alcatraz.

Ted Jacobs
Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell

Harry Leber

TOMS RIVER, N. J.

Enclosed is our monthly $2 for the best weekly in the country. However, it is no longer "our" contribution, as my husband, Harry Leber, died Sept. 22.

Harry Leber was not only an appreciative reader of the GUARDIAN, but an indefatigable booster. His activity extended to promoting the various farmers' cooperatives in the area, several of which he helped found; and giving of his time and health unstintingly to all who needed it. His courage, sincerity and leadership will be sadly missed in these days, and we who live on will have to double and re-double our store of these qualities to make up for one Harry Leber.

Forgive this eulogy from his wife, who finds it hard to bear the void left by the partner of 30 years. Frances Leber

Carrefour, Paris

"I can't tell you what's in it. The recipe is a defense secret."

A trusted friend

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

I want you to know how much I appreciate a paper like the GUARDIAN. I have been acquainted with it for just a very short time, but I anxiously await its arrival each week, as one awaits a dear and trusted friend.

I know that my subscription has expired. I have not renewed it because I have not been able, financially, to do so.

My best to all the fighters in the battle for peace and progress. I am thankful for such gallant men as Cedric Belfrage. If we had more such, the tide of fascism which is beginning to sweep over America could be turned back!

Rev. Phillip B. Oliver, D.D.

For Deutschland

OAKLAND, NEBR.

Recently my son (home on a short leave from military camp) and I picked up a hitch-hiker.

We learned he was a "foreign exchange" student, from Germany, of draft age, but said he was not worried about our draft. He said he was enjoying American freedom. I reminded him that our American boys had no freedom, they were drafted and even sent to Germany, to defend young Germans like him who do not defend their own country.

He had the gall to say he felt our boys should be willing to defend our country—even in Germany—while he was over here enjoying freedom!

Who brought this educated fool over here? I noted that he left a tip for the waitress, when we stopped for a cup of coffee. Was that my tax money he was tossing around?

And who gave it to him? Spittin' Mad

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REPORT TO READERS

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(Continued from Page 1)

ington first turned snarling upon its bleeding ally in the war against fascism.

THE FACT IS AS PLAIN as the nose on Secy. Dulles' face that force and violence is the only language that Washington today knows; together with the suppression of truth, it is the only method Washington has to bring about the solutions it wants. If a GUARDIAN keeps on exposing this fact, force—the forcible booting out of its editor as a starter—is Washington's only method to try and make it stop.

We are faced unquestionably with the hardest period of all in the next two years or so. I suggest, though, that it is not quite so hard to face now as it was a while back when we could hardly conceive what forms the Washington terror against America would take and most of us were not yet personally involved. Now we know and are almost all involved. We have been pushed by these forces of violence into the choppy water, and must learn to swim in it and be far more realistic as to ways and means of reaching the opposite shore. We know we have no choice but to breast the waves or turn back and become trained pigeons leashed for life to Messrs. Brownell, Hoover and McCarthy.

The government in its frenzy is preparing new spy scares, seeking to portray the alternative as between "loyalty" to it and treason to America. We must state and restate that the only treason to America is their own as they destroy the Constitution, suppress opposition views and gear this once peaceful land to preparations for war. We defend the Russian and Chinese revolutions just as the Jeffersonians defended the French revolution—because we have not repudiated America's basic faith that all men have the right to seek freedom and abundance in their own way, and because if we do not defend other nations' rights we can only forfeit our own. We help ourselves in helping them and injure ourselves by trying to injure them. The unity in diversity of all mankind is a fact, like the unity in diversity of the branches of a tree.

THE AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT is a many-faceted thing—how much so, we of the GUARDIAN who receive letters from hundreds of different sorts of progressives each week know perhaps as well as anyone ever knew it. It includes every age group from 10 to 90, every racial or national group, every religious or non-religious philosophy, every intelligent view on the desirability or inevitability of some form of socialism for America. If six years on the GUARDIAN have taught us one thing well, it is that every single man, woman and child who is standing up against the terror is precious.

Let us then do all we can to replace divisions within our own movement in its broadest sense with a real attempt to understand and work out constructive unity on the great issues. I would suggest that know-nothings cannot be effectively fought by know-it-alls. When we have mastered the art of burying minor hatchets for great ends in our own circle, then we are ready to speak with the voice of reason and morality, moderately and modestly, to all who will listen. Most people will.

Cedric Belfrage

No closed minds

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have delayed in sending in my $3 renewal partly because of shortage of cash, partly because I disagree with many things you say.

I send it because I do agree with some things in your columns, and because I do not want to become a closed mind, unable to even read anything with which it disagrees.

I think your paper would be more effective if it did not have a closed mind attitude. It assumes that everything done by the Communist governments is exactly right. They are doing some wonderful things, and the U.S. Government is acting very foolishly in regard to them.

But to take as your first premise that they are always all right—that is a closed mind attitude—as bad as the attitude of the Herald Tribune in the opposite direction.

Anna L. Curtis

Let candidates know

THE Friends (Quakers) Committee on National Legislation warns in its Washington newsletter that a concerted drive is on for grass-roots support for passage by Congress early in its next session of some form of Universal Military Training (UMT), in view of the expiration of the Selective Service Act on June 30, 1955.

Voters should challenge every Congressional candidate for the House or Senate on the issue of UMT. Churches, parent-teacher groups and other organizations should be urged to challenge them also—with a view to letting all voters know BEFORE election the stand of all candidates for the 84th Congress.

Definite commitments should be demanded to vote against any attempt to legislate UMT, in any form.

THE BI-PARTISAN BLIND SPOT ON ELECTION EVE

U.S. faces challenge of new peace bid with a faltering, war-propped economy

Herblock in Washington Post

"What was wrong with Charlie's crack about dogs?"

By Tabitha Petran

WHEN Defense Secy. Wilson this month compared the unemployed with bird and kennel dogs (recalling Eisenhower's 1949 advice to Americans who "want security . . . [to] go to prison"), a Democratic storm resulted: but the vicious circle in which voters find themselves has only been the more pointed up. For Wilson's remarks came in answer to a question about war work for "depressed areas," which, he said, should not be treated as "just something to dish out to keep somebody busy." Labor and Democratic leaders who pounced on his fumble are the loudest advocates of war-spending to maintain full employment—with a similar contempt for people.

A Democratic victory in November would undoubtedly express popular protest against Washington's policies. But the people are apt to be little better off unless they can bring real issues to the fore. Fascism, the York **Gazette & Daily** pointed out (10/14), is "built on the ruins of democratic societies." Issue-less politics and elections pave the way for it, as Germany showed. Today, on economic as on foreign policy, the voters are offered little real choice; since both parties base themselves on the arms economy, economic policy is basically not an issue.

"MORE ON WAR" THEORY: The Administration has slightly reduced war spending to "shake down" the economy, permitting big consumer-durables producers like General Motors to eliminate competition (reflected in the greatest merger movement in history), to cut wages (autos, textiles, etc.) and raise the rate of profit. To this squeeze on the majority the Democratic answer is bigger war spending—a program which largely nullifies other economic promises.

War expenditures ($44½ billion annual rate) account for 12½% of the gross national product. This huge prop under the economy, and big business assurance that it will be continued, if not increased, has not prevented — Democratic theory to the contrary — the maturing of long-term crisis factors. As the elections approach, a "great debate" is under way as to whether or not the hoped-for fall upturn is occurring.

STORM WARNINGS: Another upturn cannot be ruled out; but behind the new slogan, "stability," these serious crisis signs are apparent:

- **Decline in business spending for new plant and equipment.**

In the past nine years business spent more than $200 billion on new plant and equipment, a rate never known before. This capital investment powered the post-war boom. It increased U.S. manufacturing capacity—according to a tentative McGraw-Hill estimate—by two-thirds; represented an average growth of 7% a year. But industrial expansion has been slowing down since last mid-year and in 1954 will be only roughly half this rate. Capital investment will drop 6% this year—first decline since the war. Quarter by quarter, the drop in 1954 from 1953 is: 1.6%; 5%; 7%; 10.5%.

The Chicago Federal Reserve Bank's October Monthly Review sees no sign of a halt in the downward trend of industrial spending since "ample capacity" now exists in steel, farm machinery, textiles, chemicals, home furnishings, and even railroads and public utilities (where spending has hitherto been heavy owing to post-war growth and shift of population). The **Journal of Commerce** (10/11) saw in unused steel capacity evidence that business spending will sag further in 1955. Even optimists, it said, do not expect steel—now operating at 70% of capacity, up from a low of 62% in August—to go above 80% at the peak of the seasonal pick-up; and

> ". . . this figure for unused capacity cannot be shrugged off. It serves as a warning that there is more steel capacity than the economy needs. . ."

Against the McGraw-Hill estimate of the two-thirds increase in U.S. industrial capacity since 1946 stands the fact that today actual output per capita is only 1% above 1947.

- **Decline in purchasing power.**

Commerce Dept. figures show a slight drop in personal income this year, but wages and salaries are down $3.3 billion at an annual rate. Personal consumption fell from nearly

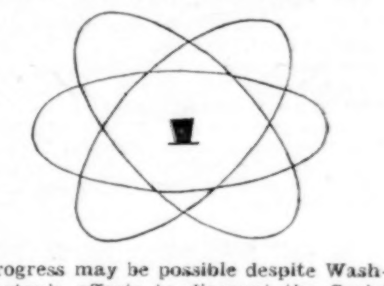
69% of the national product in 1946-49 to 62.5% in 1953, with the decline continuing this year. In a period of unemployment and a tightening squeeze on workers and farmers, consumer demand cannot grow.

- **Decline in foreign trade.**

The unhealthy state of U.S. foreign trade is evident in the rise of military shipments as a percentage of total exports—from 7.6% in 1951, to 28.6% in 1953 and today about 22%. Imports and exports are down slightly; the fight for markets is sharpening. U.S. share of world capital goods markets, for example, tumbled from over 50% in 1951 to 43% in 1953—largely owing to an upsurge of W. German and British exports.

W. German capital goods exports jumped 70% in the same period. European steel makers are encroaching on U.S. steel export markets. U.S. steel exports dropped roughly 30% last year, are still going down, while those of the European Steel & Coal Community expanded by 5%. European steel makers have captured 66% of the Latin American market. With competition intensifying, prospects for any real growth in U.S. foreign trade are virtually nil under present policies.

NO ANSWER: To the enormous problems inherent in the developing economic crisis, neither political party has even the pretense of an answer. Their policies can only intensify it. In UN the U.S.S.R. has offered substantial concessions to advance arms cuts and peaceful use of the atom. The entire U.S. effort in the debate is designed to misrepresent this initiative, accuse the U.S.S.R. of blocking disarmament, while refusing to make any concession. (But on a key question—the nature and powers of the disarmament control organ—the French and Soviet positions are not far apart, and some



progress may be possible despite Washington's efforts to discount the Soviet proposals.)

Disarmament would help pave the way for peaceful trade relations with the socialist world. But far from demanding an honest U.S. approach to the problem, Democratic spokesmen like Adlai Stevenson (10/16) insist that co-existence "can never be peaceful," urge more arms.

MORE DOPE: W. German rearmament—which, Alvarez del Vayo pointed out (**Nation**, 10/16), is an "equivalent term" with war—is supported by both parties. (A Republican, Sen. Flanders, is the sole politician to oppose it.) The hope is that W. German rearmament will create a shortage of scrap steel, hold steel prices up, and divert W. German steel exports from world markets. Business economist Eliot Janeway told the American Marketing Assn. (10/14):

> "1955 will speed the public's buying into a stampede as fast as German rearmament brings back shortages and clears the way for the big new American defense program needed to supplement it."

W. German rearmament, in short, is to be for capitalist world economy another in the succession of shots-in-the-arm, which like dope injections are initially stimulating, ultimately ruinous. "The whole U.S. foreign aid program from the Marshall Plan on has operated as a domestic business subsidy" (**Wall St. Journal**, 9/23). Now Washington is preparing to give big corporations even greater help, at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer, in capturing foreign markets and control.

THE $ PUMPERS: The FOA's (Foreign Operations Adm.) recent order for 100 locomotives for India was split between U.S. and foreign firms, although bids of U.S. firms were more than twice what some foreign competitors asked and the cost to the U.S. taxpayer thereby increased by $7 million. **Business Week** (9/11) said this 50-50 principle would henceforth apply whenever U.S. bidders "need business to maintain employment." Something like a Marshall Plan for Asia, it said (10/16), is foreshadowed in FOA's decision to pump money into Britain's Colombo Plan. This would be designed to win export markets, muscle in on British preserves in S.E. Asia and tighten U.S. control throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world.

This imperialist program, which enriches only a handful of U.S. corporations (some 75% of U.S. foreign investment since the war has been made by ten U.S. firms), is ardently supported by Democrats as by most Republicans.

ANOTHER WAY: The U.S. economic crisis is ripening just when the socialist world is beginning to offer a real challenge in peaceful and stable construction and industrialization. This month the U.S.S.R. and China have signed an agreement to withdraw Soviet forces from Port Arthur, sell Soviet rights in joint Soviet-China companies in Sinkiang, grant new Soviet credits and technical aid. The importance of this to **BW** (10/16) was the Soviet claim "that it is now able 1) to compete with the West in delivering capital goods for Asian industrialization; and 2) to offer technical assistance just as the U.S. has been doing under the Point 4 program."

A 49-YEAR-OLD COMMENT

"This pipe certainly is an improvement."

A drawing by Webster, Chicago Inter-Ocean, 1905

BW was particularly impressed because the agreement followed a Soviet offer to build for India a 500,000-ton-a-year steel mill "on terms private interests in the West can't hope to match" (10/2). **BW** called the deal "one of the most spectacular ever made in the history of capital export," pointing out that ownership and management is to be exclusively Indian and that the U.S.S.R.:

- Is not asking for stock or a percentage of production for export to Russia;
- Will pay all construction costs except Indian labor and raw materials;
- Will provide $75 million worth of equipment with repayment spread over 15 years at only 2% to 2½% annual interest;
- Will complete the plant in 18 months—sooner than an already scheduled German-built plant.

Last week India's Nehru flew to Peking, stopping en route to see Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh (frequently reported dead in the U.S. press) in Hanoi. The visit to China—which Nehru called the "most important event of the decade" for Asia—underlines the anachronism of Washington's approach to the world and the fruitlessness of its attempt to restore the past. If that approach is to be changed, Americans will have to force real issues into the political arena at home.

Why the decline

This decline in prestige in general and the political and military defeats in particular which American policy has suffered in recent times can be traced to five main factors, some of them inherited from the preceding administration, others to be claimed by the new one as their own. These five factors are:

1. The tendency to conduct foreign policy by a series of hoaxes—sensational, confusing and disquieting in the short run, but virtually meaningless in the long run;
2. The refusal to translate into policy the full implication of the new atomic balance of power;
3. An implicit policy of counter-revolution;
4. The mismanagement of the Western alliance;
5. The abdication of executive leadership in the conduct of foreign policy.

—**Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, director of Chicago Univ. Center for Study of American Foreign Policy, in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Oct., 1954.**

W. E. B. DuBOIS REVIEWS

'Seeds of Destruction' by Cedric Belfrage

By W. E. B. DuBois

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, now the editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, was one of thousands of specialists sent to Germany at the close of the Second World War "to restore democracy." The orders under which he worked came from Gen. Eisenhower. These orders are referred to in his book but not printed.* There are no maps or plans, no list of names, no bibliography nor index. Yet in a way these very omissions increase the sense of the reliability of the narrative; this is what happened, written when it occurred.

Here were men sent to re-organize life in a land of hungry, hurt and crippled millions at the orders of superiors who had no plan of operation, no notion of what had happened or what they wanted to happen in the future. This story therefore is a record of what happened among a small group of workers, under changing orders and in different places over a year's time, and illustrated by military directives, conversations, and personal narratives of persons of all shades of opinion, schooled in every sort of experience.

IF THERE'S A CRIME: Its main thread of narrative covers especially the efforts of psychological experts, under orders to re-establish a daily press to tell the German people what is occurring in their own country and in the world; to intimate as subtly as possible what honest persons should think of this; and to do this by the use of German thinkers and workers, gradually turning over to them authority and capital.

These men were not free; they were under military discipline, "sent by Gen. Eisenhower's order to reward German protestants against Nazism, and to give their just deserts to those who abetted it." If there was any crime committed by them,

> ". . . then Gen.—now President—Eisenhower and his immediate subordinates in the Psychological Warfare Division were the criminals, for they signed the orders and we carried them out to the letter."

Immediately questions began to arise as to the correct attitude towards "Communists." The Russians were Communists and our allies. German Communists were among the chief opponents of Hitler. When criticized for using these co-workers the Press group replied:

> "If in the selection of Germans for the press we are taking a position against Communists as such, this should be stated in our directives. It has not been stated up to now and, indeed, one of the directives expressly mentions Communists among anti-Nazi groups in which we should look for personnel."

EVERY MAN A BARON: Germany was an orgy of sex and indulgence for American soldiers:

> "This German excursion is a Roman holiday for our boys. Most of us have dreamed about a trip to Europe but we never pictured living here in the style of medieval barons, attended by retinues of slaves and with everything paid for by the U. S. Government."

will. But under the actual circumstances in Germany in 1945, it was doomed from the beginning.

PEOPLE IN CRISIS: The chief actors are the two fictional personalities who represent the author's own inner reactions. The story revolves around the actual lives and narratives of Nazi fellow-travelers, Jews from concentration camps, old trade unionists, scheming Nazi leaders gradually taking over, and American officers and men drinking and whoring and not one in ten knowing what it's all about or caring.

In the exposition of this effort and failure—of the thinking and doing of those involved—is much excellent literature and history; human experience and suffering. But above all it is the story of the utter incompetence and carelessness and ignorance of our leadership in this crowning crisis of modern history when we actually thought we could and would lead the civilized world.

CLIMAX: The culmination came this year when Cedric Belfrage was accused of communism by Joe McCarthy, and

SIGNING THE FIRST LICENSE IN THE U. S. ZONE
Belfrage (2d from r.) in the Frankfurter Rundschau office in 1945

The wedge between America and Russia was driven ever deeper. An ex-Nazi said:

> "We Germans have much in common with you Americans and we should work together. The Russians are barbarians and must be thoroughly beaten, as their very existence is a threat to western civilization."

Soon the Anglo-U. S. policy had

> ". . . gone so far that Communist-Social Democrat unity on the political level is now practically illegal. The Russians favor it, so it is 'communistic' and we are against it."

The task of these young Americans would have been a tremendous and intricate one under skilled scientific guidance and in an atmosphere of good

as a result faces deportation from the land to which he has given his life:

> "The fact will always remain that a few of us with crude but straightforward ideas did, in spite of hell and high water, get together and do a job in Germany."

Belfrage's real crime is editing our one radical newspaper:

> "The effective freedom in the Anglo-American press, as in all monopolized industries, is freedom for multimillionaires. . . . You and I are acquainted of old with this game as played in America by McCormick, Hearst, Martin Dies and people of their type. The effect of it upon me is merely to confirm my view that this war, which is far from over yet, is not and never was a war between nations. It is a struggle against world counter-revolution—against the attempt, by those who deny the worth of the common man, to force society back into medieval hierarchism."

One asks in a sort of desperation, is there no decency left in America? No justice, no courage? Have we quite gone to Hell? Or is this but a nightmare from which we shall awake some welcome morning?

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION, by Cedric Belfrage. Cameron & Kahn, New York, 250 pp., $1.50. Order through coupon on this page.

* The texts of the orders were—and presumably still are—"restricted." Ed.

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Fantastic chapter

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION is a very fine novel, but it is also a remarkable achievement in the writing of history. In it, Cedric Belfrage has captured the essence of a fantastic chapter of post-World War II history. That chapter concerns the beginning of the occupation of Hitler Germany and the quick resurrection of the defeated Nazis. How that happened—and how the victorious anti-fascist alliance could be broken by the cold war—is still almost incomprehensible, even to those who saw it close up. Belfrage has illuminated the story—which is in equal parts highly important, tragic and dramatic—by cutting through the muffled sound of official documents and telling what happened to people.

RICHARD SASULY

(Richard Sasuly, newspaperman and author of I. G. Farben, an exposé of the vast German cartel, held an important post in the U. S. section of the Allied Control Council in Germany in 1945.)

ISSERMAN CLEARED

13 CP leaders lose conviction appeal

WHILE a federal court in New York was rejecting the 13 "secondary" Communist leaders' appeal from their 1953 conviction for "conspiring to advocate violent overthrow," four of Colorado's seven Smith Act victims were well into their third month in jail before trial; all seven faced the possibility of being unready by the trial date, Jan. 17. Of 124 Denver attorneys phoned by the defense, 73 refused even to consider taking the case; 25 said no after considering. All feared "political danger" if they defended the accused.

The 13 N. Y. defendants—Alexander Bittelman, George Blake Charney, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Betty Gannett, V. J. Jerome, Claudia Jones, Arnold Johnson, Albert Lannon, Jacob Mindel, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock, William Weinstone—were continued on existing bail as their case went to the U. S. Court. The U. S. Appeals Court ruled that:

- It was "obnoxious" to suggest that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and workers should be on juries trying Negroes, Puerto Ricans and workers;
- There was "not the slightest evidence that any of the [anti-Communist] publicity affected in any degree the trial judge" (Edward J. Dimock, who proposed they might "go to Russia" instead of prison); Dimock's conduct was "exemplary";
- The Communist Party was a "clear and present danger" to the U. S. government in 1951 as in 1948 (when the first 11 were indicted).

THE COLORADO 7: In Denver, Smith Act victim Arthur Bary for the second time since his arrest Aug. 1 was put in the punishment cell, a dim-lit, windowless place minus table or chairs and with bunks so constructed that the prisoner must sit bent forward. Bary, very ill from a lung ailment, has been unable to raise the $30,000 bail Federal Judge Jean Breitenstein has demanded.

Total bail set for Bary, his wife Anna, Harold Zepelin, and Lewis Johnson is $85,000. Maia Scherrer, her husband Joseph, and Mrs. Patricia Blau are out on $5,000 bail each. Mrs. Scherrer is now secy. of the Colo. Committee to Protect Civil Liberties which she helped organize (Room 325, Cooper Bldg., Denver). She has asked for messages to be sent to the Barys—who are "celebrating" their eighth wedding anniversary in jail—and to the others at 1448 Kalamath Street, Denver.

ISSERMAN CLEARED: The U. S. Supreme Court last week rescinded its own action of last year disbarring Abraham J. Isserman, defense attorney for the original 11 Smith Act victims. The brief unsigned opinion said "a majority of the justices participating do not find ground for disbarment of Isserman" for "contempt" of Federal Judge Harold R. Medina's court in the 1949 Foley Sq. trial.

NATIONAL OFFICE CALLS IT OFF

Peekskill, N. Y., NAACP stirs a storm by inviting race-hater Bowles to speak

By Eugene Gordon

ON Oct. 8 the Peekskill (N.Y.) Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People invited Bryant W. Bowles, Negro-baiting, Jew-baiting, anti-integrationist president of the "Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People," to address a statewide conference of NAACP branches Oct. 24. He immediately accepted. Last week the NAACP national office indefinitely postponed the conference and rebuked the Peekskill branch, threatening to revoke its charter.

Melvin Tapley, Peekskill NAACP head, had wired Bowles that the branch NAACP would be host to state chapters at a week-end conference and "would like to have you attend as a guest . . . and express, as president and founder of the NAAWP, the ungarbled views of your organization." The telegram—seemingly assuming that Bowles had not got his views across, in spite of frequent declarations by radio, TV, press, and loudspeaker on a plane he flew over southern Delaware—said the Peekskill branch was "interested in hearing" his answer to these questions:

"Have you been misunderstood?

"Has the picture that has been drawn of you as an irresponsible anti-Negro-demonstration promoter been erroneous and unfair?"

BLACK SPADES: Asked by the GUARDIAN why an organization dedicated to Negro advancement should give an avowed enemy an additional outlet, Tapley replied to the effect that in America "everybody should be heard" and that he hoped Bowles' audience would "show him up." Bowles, wiring acceptance for Oct. 24, was quoted as telling friends: "Even in Peekskill I'm going to call a spade a spade, even a black spade a black spade."

Bowles' "NAAWP" takes credit for forcing the rejection by the Milford (Del.) white high school of ten Negro students, who had been admitted in accordance with the Supreme Court's May 17 decision; and for starting the anti-integration outbreaks in Baltimore and Washington. His platform partner at a recent Milford rally was Florida sheriff Willis McCall, who bragged that the bomb-killing of Florida NAACP leaders Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore on Christmas Eve, 1951, had scared the NAACP out of the state. McCall, on the night of Nov. 6, 1951, en route with the Negro youths Samuel Shepard and Walter Lee Irvin from Raiford Prison to a new trial ordered by the U.S. high court, stopped the car on a lonely road and shot both. Shepard died. Survivor Irvin, tried again, awaits execution.

TOBIAS CRACKS DOWN: In a message to Tapley, NAACP board chairman Dr. Channing Tobias said:

"Under no circumstances shall you . . . invite or permit Bowles or any other individual in his category to participate in any NAACP meeting of any type, at any time, under any circumstances. You are also advised that the national office is instructed to investigate the circumstances surrounding your action in inviting Bowles and to make a full report to the next meeting of the board of directors."

The N. Y. Amsterdam News (10/16), which employs Tapley as an artist, published an account of the scheduled week-end NAACP conference and the Peekskill branch's refusal to cancel the invitation to Bowles several days before the national office intervened. Referring editorially to the "NAAWP" the paper said:

"Rule of rabble-rousers is a direct threat to every decent American who believes in the democratic way of life [and] is a serious challenge to our basic form of government."

Court upholds Milford 10

The Milford (Del.) School Board was ordered by the Court of Chancery last week to readmit 10 Negro freshmen who were removed from enrollment lists nearly a month ago. Board attorney Howard E. Lynch immediately appealed to the Delaware Supreme Court for a stay of the order; the court was expected to give its decision Oct. 26. Lynch also appealed the Chancery Court finding that the Negro students had "a clear legal right" to attend Milford High. The five girls and five boys now make a daily round trip of 34 miles to the all-Negro high at Georgetown.

Interlandi in "The Meat of It"
"Remember those farmers we thought we had 'eating out of our hands'! . . ."

Save Irvin's life!

FLORIDA's Governor John has not yet set a date for the execution of Walter Lee Irvin, 27, who, despite his plea of innocence, has twice been condemned to death for "rape" by an all-white jury in Florida's infamous Groveland Case.

Irvin's only hope is commutation of sentence.

There is still time to save his life. Write or wire today to Gov. Charley Johns, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla., urging him and the Florida Parole board to commute the sentence.

IPP on TV

LOS ANGELES

Independent Progressive Party candidates winding up their campaign will be on KHJ-TV, Channel 9, on both Sunday nights before election day. The time: 10 to 10:15 p.m., Oct. 24 and 31. The IPP asks Los Angeles readers to spread the word.

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"THERE IS NO FREEDOM TILL ALL ARE OUT"

2 years in the life of Regina Frankfeld: No. 10789W

By Ione Kramer

IN the cozy Manhattan living-room, outwardly resembling a Renoir painting in its secureness, it was hard to believe that Mrs. Regina Frankfeld had just returned from a two-year term in jail for "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." Mrs. Frankfeld is the first Smith Act political prisoner to be released. Her husband, Phil, still has three more of his five years to serve in Atlanta penitentiary.

"It seems as if she's been here forever, and it seems as if she's just here for a little while," said her daughter Bella. Bella was nine when her mother and father were jailed. She conversed like an adult, with an adult's understanding of her parents' conviction.

"We'll have to fatten mother up a bit," she added, and expressed concern for the smoking habit of her mother and her brother Louis, 16, whom Mrs. Frankfeld calls her "young giant."

REGINA FRANKFELD
There's a prison outside too

TOGETHER AGAIN: While both parents were in jail, it was impossible for both children to be cared for in the home of the same relative; but now with a glow in her lively dark eyes Bella talked of how they'd set up an apartment: "Mother and Louis will work, and I'll do the cooking."

She'd seen her father last June, and Louis had seen him in April. They'd like to visit once a month as prison rules permit, but it's a thousand-mile trip and "there's no money." This spring Philip Frankfeld lost the sight of one eye through neglect of an infection contacted while in the prison's "hole."

Leaning back on the sofa, her arms behind her head, Mrs. Frankfeld tried to find words to describe what prison—she was at Alderson, W. Va., the country's only federal women's prison—meant to her:

> "In prison you simply cease to exist, you become a number—mine was 10,789W. . . It is an assault on all the human values we ever held. Strict confinement, bell-and-whistle routine, separation from family and friends, make prison life devoid of every expression of tenderness or human love; our need for it took the form of consideration for other prisoners. We shared a feeling that we must help ourselves, nobody else would help us."

Her introduction to it, she recalled, was when after three weeks of "orientation" (which meant three weeks of solitary scrubbing and painting rooms) she was moved into a "cottage." A fellow-prisoner greeted her with a collection of talcum powder and perfumed soap: "Take it Regina, and relax." And that's the way it continued.

INSIDE & OUT: Women who had been convicted of a variety of crimes lived under prison tension and in the close quarters, yet there was not one "ugly scene" in her "cottage":

> "In fighting to preserve ourselves as persons against our own brutalization, we built a real community. That was the only thing that made it bearable."

In prison "you read intently every newspaper you can find for evidence of something progressive"; she was allowed to receive the N.Y. **Times**, **U.S. News**, and the **Nation**, could write three letters a week. Hardest was the realization that there was "no word I could utter, no gesture or sound I could send to the outside about the things I believe in." But reading in the papers about those who were silenced under the pressures of our time, or turned informer, she would ask herself: "What are they afraid of?"

"Prison itself is not as frightening as being in prison on the outside," she declared.

"THERE'S NO CHOICE": As the afternoon darkened, Bella curled up on the sofa and laid her head in her mother's lap. Mrs. Frankfeld went on:

> "The judge said in sentencing us that it was punishment and to deter anybody else from doing the same thing. But I went into prison convinced that the only way you can live the one life you have is to live it in the light of your own principles—to fight for a world where people would achieve full dignity. Before, it was a conviction; now it is a knowledge based on experience. There isn't any choice between speaking out or sitting and hoping this repression will blow over. There is no hiding place."

Speaking of Dorothy Blumberg, who is still in Alderson on a three-year sentence received in the same Baltimore Smith Act trial, she said: "We had such confidence that, difficult as this period is, once people knew what the issues were and understood them they would defeat reaction." She felt the world was making greater progress today than it was when she entered prison. She leaned forward and said intently:

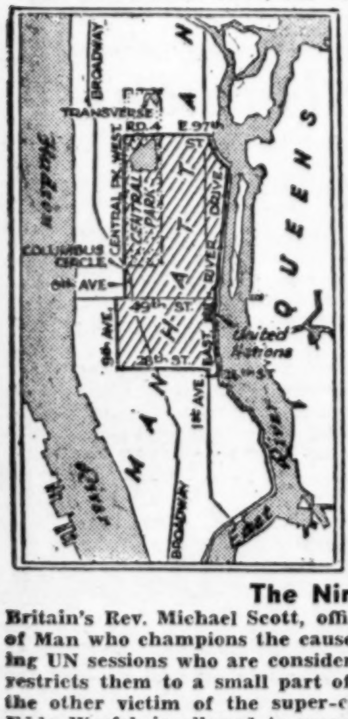
> "I was bodily in prison, now I am bodily out of it; but there are others behind me there, and others who may follow. As long as one prisoner remains, as long as I can look at a clock and know just what they are doing according to prison routine now at twenty after five; now that I know what the days and nights are like—there isn't any freedom. I can't really leave prison until they are all out."

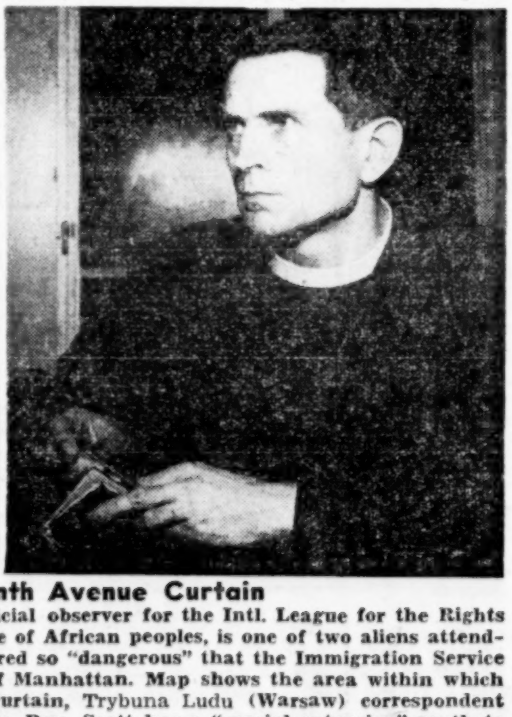
She had read, in prison, of amnesty for political prisoners in Chile, even in Franco Spain. That was what she would devote herself to here—getting all the Smith Act prisoners out without serving their full sentences as the surest insurance of an end to the jailings. (There are now 14 in prison; 66 have been convicted but are appealing; 20 are awaiting trial. Among the total are 14 women, six of whose husbands are in jail or facing trial.)

BACK TO WORK: Besides that, she hoped to continue her work. A graduate magna cum laude in archaeology from New York University, Mrs. Frankfeld turned to teaching cerebral palsy children during World War II, was employed in the country's first public school for those children in Baltimore. She had many private pupils after she was dismissed from the school system.

She particularly wanted to thank the many people who had contributed to pay her $1,000 fine: "They gave me 30 days of freedom." Then the woman who had spent two years in prison was solicitous that the reporter hadn't too far to go before supper.

Behind the Renoir atmosphere there was strength and courage.





The Ninth Avenue Curtain

Britain's Rev. Michael Scott, official observer for the Intl. League for the Rights of Man who champions the cause of African peoples, is one of two aliens attending UN sessions who are considered so "dangerous" that the Immigration Service restricts them to a small part of Manhattan. Map shows the area within which the other victim of the super-curtain, Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw) correspondent Edda Werfel, is allowed to move; Rev. Scott has a "special extension" south to 20th St. because he stays at the General Theological Seminary at 20th and 9th Av. Poland protested to UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold last week against the restriction on Mrs. Werfel. The N. Y. Times reported (10/14): ". . . Just which sides of the streets and avenues mentioned are out of bounds has never been defined. [But] any stepping beyond these boundaries, perhaps even crossing the street, would subject Mme. Werfel to deportation."

Mr. Dooley on labor: 1924

"IT WAS DIFFERENT whin I was a young man, Hinni'say. In thim days capital an' labor was friendly, or labor was. Capital was like a father to labor; givin' it its board an' lodgin's. Nayther intherfered with th' other. Capital wint on capitalizin' an' labor wint on laborin'.

"In thim golden days a wurrukin' man was an honest artisan. That's what he was proud to be called. Th' week before iliction he had his picther in th' funny papers. He wore a square pa-aper cap an' a leather apron, an' he had his ar-rm around Capital—a rosy, binivolint ol' guy with a plug hat an' eyeglasses. They was goin' to th' polls together to vote f'r simple ol' capital.

"Capital an' labor walked ar-rm in ar-rm instead iv' havin' both hands free as at prisint. Capital was contint to be capital, an' labor was used to bein' labor. Capital come ar-round an' felt the ar-rm iv' labor wanst in awhile, an' every year Mrs. Capital called on Mrs. Labor an' congratulated her on her score.

"Th' pride iv ivry artisan was to wurruk as long at his task as th' boss cud afford to pay th' gas bill. In return f'r his fidelity he got a turkey ivry year.

"At Christmas time, capital gathered his happy fam'ly ar-round him, an' in th' prisance iv th' ladies iv th' neighborhood give thim a short oration. 'Me brave la-ads,' says he, 'we've had a good year. (Cheers). I have made a millyon dolairs. (Sinsation.) I attribute this to me supeeryor skill, aided by ye'er arnest efforts at th' bench an' at th' forge. (Sobs.) Ye have done so well that we won't need so many iv us as we did. (Long an' continyous cheerin'.) Those iv us who can do two men's wur-ruk will remain, an' if possible do four. Our other faithful sarvints,' he says, 'can come back in th' spring,' he says, 'if alive,' he says.

"An' th' artysans tossed their paper caps in th' air an' give three cheers f'r Capital. They wur-ruked till ol' age crept on thim, an' then retired to live on th' wish bones an' kind wurruds they had accumulated."

—From the Painter & Decorator (AFL), Oct., 1954.

"ATTEMPT TO HARASS"

U.S. files tax lien vs. Rosenberg Comm.

THE U. S. GOVERNMENT on Oct. 18 filed a tax lien against the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. It claimed $124,122 in back taxes from Nov. 1, 1951, to Oct. 31, 1953. The government declared that the committee was not a non-profit organization and therefore the funds it had collected in the fight to save Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were not tax exempt.

A spokesman for the Committee said:

> "It is absolutely ridiculous that a non-profit organization seeking justice for three people should be considered taxable. Our activities are a matter of public record. This is only an attempt to harass our efforts to secure justice for Morton Sobell."

Recently, he said, several prominent clergymen had written privately to Federal Prisons Director James Bennett urging Sobell's removal from Alcatraz.

The Rosenberg Committee was officially dissolved at a meeting in Chicago in October, 1953, and succeeded by the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. In an audited financial statement covering the period from November, 1951, to August, 1953, published shortly afterward (GUARDIAN (11/2/53) the Rosenberg Committee's total income was listed as $302,530.17. Its balance showed a deficit of $13,487.36. To be charged with the tax figure issued by the government, it would have had to have an income of $500,000 in that period, the N. Y. Times estimated.

"If it's not too late"

The Communist Control Act of 1954 . . . constitutes the most serious infringement yet of our constitutional liberties. . . . There is hardly a person who has participated in any liberal organization, or any churchman who has taken part in Christian social action, who has not done something that brings him within the "tests" a jury is to consider as evidence of "communism." . . .

This is not a laughable matter. A formula has been written into the basic law of the land which could be put into operation eliminating all freedom of dissent. It has been said many times before but it must be said again and again that freedom is indivisible. A defense of the rights of people with whom we disagree is still the defense of the rights of the people with whom we do—if it is not already too late.

—The Churchman, Oct. 1.

AN EXCLUSIVE GUARDIAN REPORT

New China marks its 5th anniversary

By Israel Epstein
Special to the GUARDIAN

PEKING

A CENTURY and a half ago Napoleon spoke with fear of the day when the "sleeping giant, China" would "awake and shake the world." A century ago Karl Marx wrote:

"When our European reactionaries, in the flight to Asia that awaits them in the near future, come at length to the Great Wall of China, to the gates which lead to the stronghold of arch-conservatism, who knows if they will not find there the inscription 'Chinese Republic: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.'"

In Peking now we are in the midst of the fifth anniversary of the founding of that kind of Republic of China. The new constitution "guarantees that China can in a peaceful way banish exploitation and poverty and build a prosperous and happy socialist society."

PEOPLE ON GUARD: Half a million people marched in the parade celebrating the anniversary. The new Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, in the order of the day under which units of the armed services marched at the head of the parade, spoke with satisfaction of the relaxation of tensions in Asia and the world, and said China's land, sea and air forces would not rest until Taiwan (Formosa) is reunited with mainland China and "eliminated as a lair of would-be incendiaries of Asian and world war." The streets trembled with the passage of heavy armor and artillery, while planes including some types of jets and heavy bombers not previously seen flew overhead. The smart naval contingent was particularly cheered as evidence that China—never before able to defend its coast against external aggressions—is now able to do so.

A vast people's demonstration followed the military parade. Models of their products—with many types of modern machinery never before made in China—were borne aloft by 130,000 industrial workers. Peasants from collective farms and co-operatives bore past samples of their abundant harvest. Forty thousand building workers drew cheers from Peking citizens who have seen new construction totaling half the pre-liberation area of their city grow up in five years. A river of 140,000 students marching 70 abreast indicated China would not lack skilled personnel of all kinds to develop its industry, public health and arts to new levels. Then came young men and women athletes symbolizing the participation of millions in sports, followed by national minority groups in an eye-filling, heart-warming spectacle of cultures formerly suppressed.

FOR THE HOMELESS PEOPLE OF PARIS

Charlie Chaplin, who received a prize this year from the World Peace Council, gave over half a million francs of it to Abbe Pierre (l.) a famous Paris priest who helps the poor of Paris. Chaplin said he is making a new movie "about a little man who goes to America expecting to find everything wonderful, and then. . . ."

COLORFUL VISITORS: In front of the historic Tien An Men Gate, some 2,000 representatives of European, Asian, African, Latin American and Australasian nations stood to greet the paraders and the Chinese people. From the U. S. S. R. had come top government officials Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan and Shvernik; from Poland, President Boleslaw Bierut; from Rumania, President Petru Groza; from North Korea, Premier Kim Il Sung; and top leaders also from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia, N. Vietnam and Albania. Also present were parliamentarians from India and Japan and many parties of distinguished cultural leaders from Britain, France, India, Chile. There was a warm unconstrained intimacy on the reviewing stand between leaders of various socialist nations who had seen decades of struggle, jail and suppression.

An amazing sight in old Peking was the stream of traffic—reminiscent of Times Square—of mainly Soviet-, Czech- and Polish-made buses and cars jamming the routes to the exhibition of products of Soviet industry, all of whose "secrets" are now available to China. Later the Soviet State Folk-Dance Ensemble began performances, including finely-executed Chinese dances. This is to be followed shortly by a Chinese tour of the Moscow Art Theater. A most striking embodiment of the vision of peaceful brotherhood at the dance performance was the large group of people from Japan which but recently tried to occupy all China.

THE 2 UNCOVERABLES: On the eve of the anniversary, Premier Chou En-lai said that, conditional only upon Washington abandoning its "hopeless efforts" to overthrow the People's Republic of China,

". . . we are willing to co-exist peacefully with any nation in the world provided it has the same desire. Of course we are willing to co-exist peacefully with the United States."

A 19th century Russian satire tells of a Tsarist bureaucrat who, when he heard the common people talking "subversively" of the free land called America, wrote in a report to his superior: "In my opinion the trouble began with America's discovery. Respectfully recommend covering it up again."

—but neither, as anyone must realize

—but neither, as any one must realize who has seen the last few days in Peking, can China.

THE "IRON CURTAIN" DISSOLVES

Can Germany be reunited?

The German Democratic Republic (E. Germany) celebrated its fifth anniversary last week. Washington was pressing hard for rearmament of W. Germany, while throughout Europe sentiment strengthened for East-West talks about reunifying Germany before taking this possibly fatal step toward a "Western Korea." The Western governments' chief argument for rearming W. Germany is that, since E. Germany is "Iron-Curtained" and will not permit "free elections" there, talks with Moscow or between W. and E. Germany would be futile.

We publish below excerpts from an important statement in London's Reynolds News *(9/26) by British Labour MP Frank Beswick, who just returned from a visit to E. Germany, and from a Bonn dispatch to the Paris* N. Y. Herald Tribune *about the "Iron Curtain." The Karl Schmidt-Wittmack to whom Beswick refers is a member of W. German Chancellor Adenauer's party who moved to E. Germany in August shortly after Dr. Otto John. As a member of the Bonn Parliamentary Committees for European Security and for All-German Questions, Schmidt-Wittmack told the press in E. Berlin, he had "the chance of studying closely the methods and perspective of Dr. Adenauer's policies." He said the actual W. German rearming plans, "already completed," were not for 12 but 24 divisions with a further 24 reserve divisions under consideration.*

By Frank Beswick, MP

WHAT are the conditions under which the E. German Government would discuss reunification of all Germany? On this I questioned and cross-questioned many of their ministers. In particular I put this point to Herr Bolz, thick-set, redfaced member of the Natl. Democratic Party and Foreign Minister in the E. German Coalition. I [said] British public opinion would not contemplate any solution which excluded free elections and that, moreover, the E. German electoral system was not regarded as free.

Herr Bolz retorted that in his view their elections were more genuinely free than in W. Germany but . . . "our mode of elections is not necessarily suitable for the whole of Germany."

I asked if he meant that he accepted the right of, say, an Adenauer candidate to stand and propagate in any eastern constituency. The answer was an equivocal "Yes." The only restriction they wished to lay down, said Herr Bolz, was that no leading ex-Nazi or industrial monopolist should have the opportunity to get parliamentary control of all Germany.

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE: I asked if he accepted the possibility of the elections giving the Christian Democrats a majority. A possibility he admitted, but he did not believe that the German worker, who was in a majority in the whole of Germany, would in fact give Adenauer the power to pursue his anti-Russian policy.

And foreign policy when the new all-German government was elected? That would be for the German people to decide, but there must be no prior commitment. He, personally, was against balance-of-power politics and a sane collective security system was his aim.

. . . He was insistent, as were all other people of responsibility, that if only representatives of the two existing German governments were brought together a mutually satisfactory formula for elections could be found.

CHASM & BRIDGE: Later I saw Herr Schmidt-Wittmack. . . . He knew the attitude of his former colleagues in the Bonn Parliament. He had since discussed these matters with leaders of all parties in E. Germany. I asked if he believed a mutually acceptable solution for reunification could be found. He thought it was possible.

Schmidt-Wittmack still insisted . . . that there had been a meeting between North Atlantic Treaty Organization representatives and Gen. Heusinger, representing the Bonn Government, at which understanding was reached that the W. German military contribution would go beyond the publicized 12 German Divisions. However, it is claimed by the British Government that a W. German military contingent is necessary because agreement is impossible between East and West on German reunification. On this question, said Mr. Eden in his Berlin report, there is between us "not a gap but a chasm."

KARL SCHMIDT-WITTMACK
He had first-hand knowledge

Whether it be a gap or chasm, there is now, I believe, the possibility of a bridge between E. and W. Germany.

(From the Paris N. Y. Herald Tribune, *Oct. 5)*

BONN, Oct. 4.—A remarkable increase has occurred in the amount of contact between the people of W. and E. Germany across the Iron Curtain. At times in the last few months, the traffic has exceeded 10,000 persons a day in each direction, according to figures provided, upon request, by the W. German Ministry of All-German Affairs.

Most of this travel is of a private nature, by Germans visiting their families or their friends living on the opposite side of the Iron Curtain. It also includes trips for commercial purposes or by doctors, artists and other professional persons attending congresses in W. or E. Germany.

It further includes, for example, the 10,000 W. Germans who attended the Evangelical Church rally in the E. German city of Leipzig in July, the 15,500 W. German business men who went to the Leipzig Fair last month and the 20,000 E. Germans who attended the Roman Catholic Congress in the W. German town Fulda in September.

These figures do not include crossings by persons living in the immediate proximity of the E.-W. frontier. They also do not include the large daily E.-W. traffic inside the city of Berlin.

The ministry official said that despite the entrenchment of Communist rule in East Germany, it was no longer correct to speak of an Iron Curtain extending across the country for the common man. . . .

Humanities Dept.
(Bacteriological divn.)

"Actually our weapons are the most humane there are. We can tailor them to the exact needs of the situation. We can kill the enemy or we can make him sick and knock him out for a fixed period of time. And we don't destroy property."
—Gen Wm. M. Creasy, Army Chemical & Bateriological Warfare Division chief, quoted in N. Y. World-Telegram.

Dixon-Yates

(Continued from Page 1)

TVA would charge if it built the plant itself, would have its taxes paid by AEC, and would own the plant after 25 years. Gordon R. Clapp, whom Eisenhower failed to reappoint as head of TVA, has this to say of the deal:

"The stakes here go far beyond the gift of a single large steam plant to a pair of private citizens. . . . If the Dixon-Yates deal goes through, it may well be the beginning of a program to circle the TVA with cost-plus 'gift' plants paid for by TVA consumers under the terms of a federal fiat. If the utilities and the Bureau of the Budget can force TVA to raise its rates by loading on to TVA the excessive costs of these gifts, the yardstick will be gone. Millions of power consumers outside the Tennessee Valley will feel the effect in higher electric rates."

THE MAN NEXT DOOR: A majority of AEC members and of TVA directors opposed the deal, but last June 16 Eisenhower himself ordered the AEC to go through with it. Terms of the contract were kept a secret; there had been no competitive bidding on the project. A New York firm reported that its effort to make a bid was rejected even though it could have saved the government $150,000,000. Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) denounced it as "a crooked deal," said he would demand a Congressional probe.

Early in July the TVA directors urged the Budget Bureau to reconsider the contract, but more than a month later had had no reply. On Aug. 16 Democratic Chmn. Stephen A. Mitchell said:

"It so happens that a director of one of the two companies is one of the President's closest friends—with a cottage next to President Eisenhower's at the Augusta golf course. Maybe they never talked about it. And maybe it is just a coincidence that some of the bankers in this Administration—like the Director of the Budget—come from banks which underwrite this kind of project."

Eisenhower, angered, denied that his friend, golfer Bobby Jones, had anything to do with his decision, offered to make public all the records of the deal. It took three days to assemble these, but the contract itself was not among the documents made available.

THE ILLICIT UNION: Meanwhile Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), chairman of both the Senate Judiciary Committee and its Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee, charged that a "deliberate effort" had been made to block funds for a full-scale investigation of the contract. He said he would use his own funds for a probe if necessary.

Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R-N.Y.), chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, announced Aug. 24 that he would hold a public hearing beginning Sept. 2, but three days later postponed it "until further notice." Mitchell, denouncing this as "backstage maneuvering" to keep the facts from the public, repeated that the deal was "corrupt" and "a scandal."

On Sept. 1 it was disclosed that the TVA management itself had never seen a text of the contract and had complained to the Budget Bureau that its "experienced judgment" was being ignored. On Sept. 14 Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee said the Dixon-Yates deal "may well sound the death knell of public power in America" and offered this description of it:

"A government-subsidized, government-protected and Presidentially-created Trojan horse within the TVA fortress of public power—a hybrid offspring conceived in illicit union between the rakish private power lobby and a receptive Republican administration. . . . The most shameful and shocking example of favoritism in all the history of the public-private power controversy."

THE COLONIAL EMPIRE: By late September the Langer hearings had uncovered some startling testimony. An official of the Arkansas Power & Light Co., a subsidiary of the Dixon group, charged that the company was enjoying an illegal 13.5% profit through a recently-granted increase in rates. Jeff Speck, former Republican candidate for governor of Arkansas and a one-time employe of AP&L, testified that the company kept at least two sets of books, one for tax purposes in the parent company's New York offices. He said he got a glance at them once in 1948 and exclaimed:

"My God, what robbery."

J. D. Stietenroth, for 26 years top financial officer of Mississippi Power & Light, another Dixon subsidiary, testified that his company also kept a double set of books and was completely under control of New York financiers:

"The utility business in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi called the Middle South System (Dixon) represents a colonial empire to a certain group of Wall Streeters."

He said he had never been able to see the tax books kept in New York, and described other practices of the company in squeezing rural electric co-ops out of business and using its influence to defeat public power legislation. Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), who sat with Langer in the hearings, said:

"The more we go into it the more it stinks."

THE FURIOUS SENATOR: Kefauver and Langer sent transcripts of the testimony to the Justice Dept., and both said they would press for funds for a thorough-going investigation of the whole private power industry and the efficacy of the Public Utility Holding Company Act.

By Oct. 6 rumors were thick that the AEC had signed the contract. Langer was furious:

"We deem it highly improper for the government to enter into a contract while this investigation is unresolved."

The AEC replied that it had approved the contract "by formal vote" but had not yet signed it. Meanwhile Rep. Cole, who had announced a hearing by his committee starting Oct. 13, called it off and set the date tentatively for Nov. 2—two days after the elections. Two days later the Securities & Exchange Commission, established to police the enforcement of the Holding Company Act, gave a clean bill of health to the Dixon Mississippi Power & Light.

THAT'S FREE ENTERPRISE: Last week the terms of the contract unofficially became public. They not only confirmed all that had been said against it by its critics but disclosed clauses and loopholes that made the deal a bigger giveaway than suspected. In addition, the Dixon-Yates combine had refused to give a warranty of performance, either in construction of the plant or in the delivery of electricity. The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, which first revealed the terms, said:

"Examination of the new draft gives support to the charges of its opponents that it provides a virtually risk-free proposition for the Dixon-Yates group."

With public power proponents all over the country aroused, there seemed no way to head off a full-scale probe, even though the Administration made it clear it would try to ram the contract through before the new Congress in January.

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O Dearest Land, Beware!

O dearest land, beware! there is a plot
Abroad to twist the unsuspecting heart
With hatred of such nature it would blot
Reason from life, and kill with poisoned dart
All understanding of ourselves and others.
O dearest land, beware! awake, my brothers!
And fling this mammoth tide of venom back
That daily surges in the printed flood
Of vile persuasions pouring forth to rack
Resistant nerves, and drown free thoughts in blood.

Dear land, beware! there is a scheme, dark, blind,
Backed by great wealth, to sell us to that fate
That once before, with unconscionable hate,
Brought booted death, and sacked a nation's mind.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

CARL MARZANI, noted author-lecturer of N.Y., "CO-EXISTENCE," also 2 new documentaries from U.S.S.R. "The Pamirs" and "The Altai" (never before shown in Chicago). Sat., Nov. 13, 8:15 p.m., Milda Hall, 3140 S. Halsted St. Adm: $1, tax incl. Auspices: Chicago Council of A.S.P.

Los Angeles

WHO'S A WITCH? Hallow'en Party, Fri., Oct. 29, at 462 N. Western Av. Auspices: Teachers Defense Committee.

"TRICK OR TREAT?" This is no trick—but for a treat, come to our Hallowe'en Party on Sat., Oct. 30, 9 p.m. 1407 5th Av. Donation IPP.

EMMET McLOUGHLIN, author "People's Padre," former Franciscan Priest, Housing Program Leader, Founder and continuing head first U.S. interracial hospital, Phoenix Memorial, speaks Fri., Nov. 5, 8 p.m., on "Democracy and Human Health." Adm: $1. 2936 W. 8th St. (nr. Vermont). Auspices: Unitarian Public Forum.

SEQUOIA SCHOOL offering 6 week courses beginning week of Nov. 1. "Verse Writing," Thomas McGrath; "Races and Racism," Dr. R. Slobodin; "Problems of Dramatic Writing," Janet Stevenson. Write 4360½ Melrose Av., L. A., or call PL 3-1617 for complete information.

Philadelphia, Pa.

HEAR W. BERERLY CARTER, Rep. Candidate for U.S. Congress in 4th E.D. of Pa., speak on "Are Philadelphia Schools Segregated?" Thurs., Oct. 28, 9 p.m., at Bukier Hall, 2026 N. 32d St. Auspices: Philadelphia Veterans for Peace.

San Francisco

DR. EDWARD BARSKY and MILTON WOLFF, Fri., Oct. 29, 150 Golden Gate Av., S.F., and Sun., Oct. 31, Bjornson Hall, 610 55th St., Oakland. 8 P.M. both nights. FRANCO INVADES U.S.A.! Report from the SACB trial of the VALB. Admission: 50c. KL 2-3703.

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PICTURE OF A MAN ON HIS WAY TO A PARTY
Republocrat or ALP?

VOTERS FEAR NEW '29

Poll puts Dems ahead; GOP 'sensation' flops; ALP offers job plan

UP TO Tuesday evening, Oct. 19, the N.Y. campaign could have been summed up in these headlines: "HARRIMAN DWELLS ON UNEMPLOYMENT" (**Times**, 10/14); "IVES FAVORS MORE CASH TO JOBLESS" (**Herald Tribune**, 10/15); "DEWEY FINDS RISE IN POLITICAL LIES" (**Times**, 10/16).

Though Harriman took side trips into other fields, promising to legalize Bingo as his first official act and congratulating the AFL Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union for its fight on communism, the big issue was unemployment and the fear that it would grow.

Neither major party had any remedies. Harriman advocated more "defense" contracts for the state. Ives echoed Dewey's claim of unprecedented prosperity but at the same time promised to increase unemployment benefits.

WAR OR DEPRESSION? No matter how little Harriman had to offer on the subject, it seemed likely that if New Yorkers voted in fear of a depression, the tide would run his way. Public opinion analysts throughout the country noted a widespread conviction that the Democrats were more likely to take us into war, the Republicans into a depression.

When the U.S. was at war in Korea, analysts point out, the nation voted for Eisenhower's peace promise. At peace now and fearing a depression, the country was expected to go Democrat. The signs of a Democratic sweep, noted in Maine and Alaska, were seen in New York. The N.Y. **Daily News** poll showed Harriman leading Ives by more than 8%. Ives seemed weaker than Dewey even in GOP strongholds, where he would have to build up extraordinary strength to counter Harriman's forces in the city.

"IT'S THE SYSTEM": Ives admitted the apathy that greeted his upstate tour and called on rural voters to save the day. The N.Y. **World-Telegram** (pro-Ives) urged the GOP to "get the show on the road." At the same time the paper featured on page one (10/19) an unemployment analysis by Charles Lucey seeking to exonerate the GOP from blame for past depressions, declaring in effect it is "part of the system" with war as the only alternative. That was once radical doctrine. Lucey said government statistics going back to 1929 "show that only in wartime—with millions of men in the armed forces and the rest producing for war—has unemployment been licked."

Unless the electorate could be resigned to unemployment, Ives would have a difficult time. On Monday, Oct. 18, he abruptly canceled upstate speaking engagements and announced he would explode a bombshell in N.Y. City the following day.

AN OLD SKELETON: At 6:30 p.m. Tuesday he exploded it: a scandal fully reported in the N.Y. press in 1930. The United American Line, largely owned by Harriman, had been involved in a $250,000 bribery of Judge W. Bernard Vause, allegedly for rights to certain docks. The Line's president had admitted paying the judge, but Harriman, though he was a director of the company, denied any knowledge of it before a grand jury at the time and there was no indictment.

The investigation dragged on until a key witness died and the case was forgotten. Harriman last week repeated he had known nothing about the transaction between his company and the judge. If the expose had been more recent than a quarter of a century it might have torpedoed Harriman. It seemed unlikely to outweigh the worry of the jobless. And scandal for scandal, the Dewey racetrack involvement was fresher.

PROGRAM FOR JOBS: The American Labor Party's John T. McManus offered a peaceful alternative to unemployment. In a chalk-talk telecast with cartoonist Fred Wright and ALP candidate for Atty. Gen. George Fish, McManus proposed giving 140,000 of the state's 600,000 unemployed jobs in a low-rent housing program; 45,000 in building schools (these figures include construction workers and those in allied industries affected by such building); 25,000 in a public works program. Opening up East-West trade would create 175,000 jobs in the state, he said; many more could be absorbed in an upswing resulting from boosting purchasing power, by raising the minimum wage from 75c to $1.25 an hour and wiping out anti-Negro, anti-Puerto Rican discrimination.

McManus summed up: "Not a bomb in a carload."

POWE ENDORSED: Ralph Powe, ALP candidate for controller, won endorsement by the Citizens Committee to Elect a Negro to State-Wide Office. Committee Chairman William G. McDougald, a Democrat, said: "Our Committee, which is a completely non-partisan body, has but one single purpose—to make clear here and now that the day is past when the Negro people in New York will tolerate second-class treatment. The hand-me-down treatment is highlighted now by the failure of both parties to take a forthright position against the brazen efforts to subvert the decision of the Supreme Court on anti-discrimination in the schools."

McDougald praised Powe for "his vigorous dedication to the fight for the full unqualified first-class citizenship of our people. . . ."

Powe speaks

RALPH POWE, American Labor Party candidate for controller and the only Negro on any ticket running for high state office, will speak at a "concert for Negro representation" at the Elks Imperial Hall, 168 W. 125th St., Thurs., Oct. 28, 8 p.m.

The concert, under the auspices of the ALP Harlem Campaign Committee will feature songs by Nadine Brewer and a dramatic presentation by Bill Robinson. Cyril Phillips will be master of ceremonies. General admission tickets at 49c are available at committee offices, 2435 8th Av.

JOHN T. McMANUS LOOKS BACK

The little one-room school

Delivered during a telecast of the Columbia Broadcasting System's public service program, "Meet The Candidates," Sat. Oct. 16.

AS A BOY, I was a pupil in a little one-room school in northern Westchester County—district school No. 6 in Crugers. In those days all eight grades sat together. Up front there was an old pump-organ—and the teacher had to double in brass as the organist for our morning songs. In the back of the room in winter, the mittens and mackinaws dried out over a big round register in the floor, bringing up heat from a coal furnace in the cellar. That was 40 years ago.

Naturally, I look back on those one-room school days with the warmest of memories—but I think you will agree with me that those days belong in the past. Yet they are NOT in the past. Only last year a terrible fire broke out in one of the hundreds of frame schoolhouses still in use in our state, bringing death to 10 children—because in all these years our state has NOT given its children the top priority in state expenditures; because the coal-fired, frame school building is still the order of the day in far too many communities of our state—when they should exist only in the memories of ancient codgers like me.

NOW, IF YOU PLEASE, one more reminiscence about the old days and our schools. My high school diploma reads: Central District School No. 3, Buchanan, N.Y. It was—and still is—a three-story brick school building, housing grammar school and high school together. It is still in service as a grammar school, by the way—and we keep hoping to replace it, but it never quite seems to work out.

My point about that high school, back in the days of the first World War, is that it was a truly enlightened school from both a student and teacher point of view. The student who wanted to inquire into the ways of the world—the whole world—was encouraged to do so. The teaching staff of only four or five teachers included, in those days, a Negro teacher—even though there were no Negro students in our school then. And she was a fine teacher, loved by the pupils and blessed by her parents with a lovely name—Iva Rietta Marshall.

Then, too, we had a real, live Socialist teacher—and practically **nobody** in the school agreed with her politics. But no one even **dreamed** of proposing that she should not be allowed to teach. She too, was a fine teacher—and a fine argufier for her point of view. I well remember fiery Miss Jensen out-arguing my mother—and mother was no slouch as an argufier, being a former teacher herself—in a discussion of socialism versus Wilsonian democracy, which was our family politics.

THE principal of our school was a Wilsonian Democrat, too—and I can tell you that in those days there were darned few Wilson men in our whole Westchester countryside. But today Prof. Frank G. Lindsey is remembered and revered by all. There is now a street named after him and plaques in the district schools to his memory.

"It's a comin' thing" Mr. Lindsey would say—about woman suffrage, for example. "It's a comin' thing." And by golly, he was right!

Now, may I remind you that the argument over the League of Nations in those days was as hot an issue as peaceful co-existence is today. And can you imagine one of today's school principals taking the stump for peaceful co-existence in our schools today? Precious few

would dare, as you well know. But, as Prof. Lindsey would have said in his time, "It's a comin' thing!"—and I say it's too bad the pupils in our schools today may not know it, because few teachers dare to proclaim it.

As someone remarked to me just the other day: "If this is to be, indeed, the land of the free—it's got to be the home of the brave"—and we must be brave enough to free our schools from fear of witch-hunters and super-patriots; and brave enough, too, to stand up and **demand** that the money going into war be used instead to make schools safe, and our teachers safe. Free to teach, free to encourage the inquiring mind, free to instill love of mankind in the minds of the young, instead of hate, prejudice and cynicism.

THESE ARE our objectives—and no political party other than the American Labor Party dares present to you such concepts as these.

The old Republicans have proposed in advance, not to discuss education during this campaign. The Democrats promptly disagreed, as politicians. But they have dodged the real issues as carefully as their opponents. They would like to forget the days of Gov. Alfred E. Smith, whose first official act on becoming governor back in the Twenties was to free the school system of that day from the vicious Lusk Laws, to free the teachers from the political intimidation which sprang up after World War I, just as it has since World War II.

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CALENDAR

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Lecturer: Irving Adler
Tues., Oct. 26
"Progressive Education and the Main Trend in the Schools."
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Friday, October 29
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8th Av. 23d St. Contr. 75c
Auspices: American Socialist

"BIRD DOGS & KENNEL DOGS." A Philosophical Discourse on How the Elephant Got in the Doghouse, with Meyer Weise. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., Sun., Oct. 24, 8:30 p.m. Admission: $1.

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY
Dancers, Singers, Play Party in a program of Peace and Brotherhood. Sat., Oct. 23, 2:30 p.m. and alternate Sats. thereafter. People's Artists, Studio 5, 124 W. 21st St. Refreshments. Admission: 75c.

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Joseph Solman, painter, editor, speaks on "Aspects of Contemporary Art." Colored slides of phases in development of his own work. Audience invited to bring original works for criticism, participate provocative discussion. New Date: Fri., Oct. 29, 8:30 p.m. Art Division, ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Cont. 60c.

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Oct. 24, 8:30 p.m. Richard Moore speaks on "Africa Since Suez," at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Cont. $1.

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THE "ILA" TREATMENT

Lawsuit, cries of 'crime' fail to break truck strike

THE big guns used against the port's longshoremen—charges of "crime" in the union, law suits and injunctions—were trained on the city's teamsters last week. The teamsters survived as had the dockers.

The AFL Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters had demanded a 25c-an-hour pay boost. The big trucking companies negotiating as a unit offered 10c an hour. At midnight, Friday, Oct. 15, the teamsters struck. Mediators were called in; truck companies predicted goods would rot at the railroad terminals. Police were ordered to carry nightsticks. Over the week-end the big stores, including A & P and many smaller firms, were reported signing up on the union's terms.

BACK WITH A BOOST: By Monday morning, Oct. 18, claims of a city-wide tie-up came only from the chairman of the companies' negotiating company, Joseph M. Adelizzi. The union was busy signing up firms and on Tuesday announced that half of the city's 30,000 truckers were back at work with the 25c boost. Some of the big companies were breaking the employers' front. The city seemed scarcely inconvenienced by the strike.

The hold-outs filed an unprecedented $10,000,000 damage suit in the State Supreme Court against the companies that had capitulated and the union, charging a conspiracy to "seize and steal" the business of the hold-outs. They also petitioned the Senate and House Labor committees to investigate charges of "legalized extortion" by the union.

THE HOLD-OUTS: Supreme Court Justice Thomas A. Aurelio set Wednesday, Oct. 20, for a hearing on the hold-outs' plea for an injunction against the operation of seven companies who signed contracts and against the union's alleged "coercion."

It seemed likely that the teamsters would win the strike before any legal or Congressional action.

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FRI., OCT. 22
WCBS, 10:15-10:30 P.M.
WSYR (Syracuse), 2:30-2:45 P.M.

MON., OCT. 25
WBNX (in Spanish), 2-2:15 P.M.
WQXR, 7:45-8 P.M.

TUES., OCT. 26
WMGM, 9:15-9:30 P.M.
WNEW, 10:35-11 P.M.
WHOM, 11-11:15 P.M.
WGY (Schenectady), 5:40-55 A.M. (Farm Program)

WED., OCT. 27
WMCA, 9:15-9:30 P.M.
WNEW, 10:35-11 P.M.

THURS., OCT. 28
WBNY (Buffalo), 7:15-7:30 P.M.

FRI., OCT. 29
WNEW, 10:35-11 P.M.
WSYR (Syracuse), 7:15-7:30 P.M.

SUN., OCT. 31
WNEW, 10:35-11 P.M.

TV

FRI., OCT. 22
WSYR (Syracuse), 7:30-7:45 P.M.

SAT., OCT. 23
WBEN (Buffalo), 6-6:10 P.M.

MON., NOV. 1
WPIX, 9:30-10 P.M.

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"You mean if we have different views that makes me a radical?"

BROOKLYN STRIKE

Sitters quit razor plant, join pickets

SIT-DOWN strikers left the Brooklyn plant of the American Safety Razor Co. on Oct. 14 and joined the picket line outside. An injunction had been expected to force the sit-downers out that afternoon. The two-week-old demonstration had successfully forced the major issue at ASR—the runaway shop—to public attention.

The strike continued while the company agreed to negotiate with the union, Local 475 United Electrical Workers. The workers sat down in the plant when ASR balked at signing a contract already agreed to providing a wage boost, pension and severance pay plans for the duration of the company's stay. ASR, seeking to run away to low-wage Staunton, Va., has set May 1 as moving day. It balked at the contract because the union refused to stop its efforts to rally public support against the runaway.

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THE HUNTER COLLEGE DRAMA

Ghost on the Campus

By Elmer Bendiner

TO SOME Americans the decade of the 1930's—of the New Deal and the war against Spanish fascism—is a skeleton rattling alarmingly with the "sins" of their youth.

That skeleton haunts the campuses where teachers who recall a time of freer thought and freer speech, fear now that others may recall them. How to handle the ghost is a formidable dilemma for most U. S. intellectuals.

PACTITIS: At the off-Broadway Phoenix Theater playwright Robert Ardrey does not quite tackle that dilemma but he does acknowledge it. In **Sing Me No Lullaby** he takes a stand not so much on the Bill of Rights as on a proposed statute of limitations. He seems to say that those who remained in the progressive camp, counseling friendship with the Soviet Union after its 1939 non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, ought properly to be damned; but that those who left then ought to be forgiven now.

An expert cast capably portrays the playwright's honest anxiety and terrifying confusion. Ardrey is worried about the blacklist, the informer and the intruding FBI investigator—but half-apologetic, too, recalling the freedom of the Thirties nostalgically, unwilling to revive it.

PENITENT PROFESSORS: Uptown at Hunter College a more convincing drama was being played. In the Thirties Hunter philosophy prof. V. Jerauld McGill was a member of the Communist Party. It was a time when radicalism seemed proper in an inquiring student or teacher. In 1941, when summoned before the Rapp-Coudert Committee, McGill denied his membership. He actually resigned from the CP shortly after the committee's hearing.

In 1952 Dr. Bella Dodd, newly turned informer, told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that her old friend McGill was a Communist. The professor's ordeal began then. First to the Senate subcommittee, then to the Board of Higher Education he admitted past CP membership, signed statements that he had renounced his former convictions and opposed communism—but declined to name other faculty members who had been Communists with him in the Thirties.

He promised instead that he would try to persuade those others to confess their past to the Board. He wrote letters, telephoned, argued with profs. Louis Weisner (mathematics) and Charles Hughes (music). Last year they wrote their letters of confession to the Board, said they had resigned from the CP, but they, too, declined to offer more names.

Citizen News, Hollywood

FORMER RED SYMPATHIZER

"GOOD FAITH": The Board called for proof that they had left the CP "in good faith." Last spring the Board's law assistant, Arthur H. Kahn, told the GUARDIAN that informing on others "would be a very good indication" of good faith. Added to the charges of Communist affiliation were others: "refusal to cooperate" and "conspiracy to obstruct" the investigation. The crime was: refusal to inform. Last April all three were suspended.

The undergraduate newspaper **Arrow** polled students, found unanimous protest and a denial that any had sought to give philosophy, mathematics or music a Communist slant.

"LOYALTY" DEFINED: When dismissal of the three was announced early this month, the **Arrow** asked for no comment from students, printed instead an editorial entitled "Concurring Opinion" (10/11), in language that sounded like a District Attorney's brief. Of the legal framework for repression the **Arrow** said: "These laws were written for the purpose of preventing the infiltration of schools and colleges by members of groups whose purpose is to subtly disseminate subversive doctrine in the guise of liberal thought. Such laws in no way curtail academic freedom, but serve to preserve it in its fullest sense." (No charge had been made against the professors' classroom conduct or teaching.)

The undergraduate editor, pleading for more conformity, denied it was "naive to assume that an employe might be expected to do as his employer directs. . . . Rather we think it sophomoric to attempt to say that as employes of the Board of Higher Education the three faculty members were not bound by conscience to resign either their positions . . . or their membership in the Communist Party. . . . They did not resign their memberships in the Party, or rather they did not prove this fact to the satisfaction of the Board."

That the burden of proof was placed on the accused, that the only way to "prove" themselves to the Board was to inform, did not trouble the **Arrow's** editors.

A DISSENTER: In the **Arrow**, the one note of dissent came from another teacher, political science assoc. prof. Margaret Spahr, who had joined in the defense at McGill's hearings before the Board. The **Arrow** (10/18) printed her letter without comment:

"The teaching of philosophy, mathematics or music at Hunter has no 'security' aspects whatsoever. Nor were the professors charged with advocating the overthrow of the government that employed them or of any other American government. It was only the fascist European governments that they ever desired to see overthrown by violence . . . . It would seem to me as a college professor that it is you who are 'sophomoric' in your supposition that a professor must obey unquestionably every directive of the Board of Higher Education. Suppose that the Board, alarmed because a few top Communists turn out to be members of Phi Beta Kappa, orders the disbanding of the Hunter College chapter of the honor society; must the faculty members of the Hunter chapter obey or resign?"

While the professors considered pressing an appeal first to the Commissioner of Education, then to the courts, the Board announced that two more as yet unnamed Hunter faculty members were to be "thoroughly investigated."

"THEY DON'T KNOW": The Hunter campus seemed to take the continuing inquisition without a trace of excitement. There were no meetings; no club took up the matter. The Young Republicans, Young Democrats and the Political Science Club busied themselves with forums on the state election campaign. The Students for Democratic Action issued a call for volunteers for Harriman. Hunter's Theater Workshop announced a forthcoming production of **The Crucible**, but nobody would publicly draw a parallel.

The GUARDIAN asked Prof. Spahr why there was so little student revolt. She said she thought fear might deter some though not most, and that she found her students "not obtuse on social questions" in the classroom. She said: "They are young . . . they have no historical sense." They do not know the anti-fascist movement of the Thirties. They do not see fascism now and they believe that the Communist Party represents treason and Russia the only danger. She was more surprised at faculty members who learned basic liberties long ago but who now tell her it is true that the Board did not prove the professors' guilt but after all, neither did they prove their innocence.

THE SACRED DUTY: Hunter's apathy was part of a general blight on the campus. A spark was briefly lit in Queens College where the undergraduate **Crown** (10/8) commented: "What used to be the most despicable, vile human activity [informing] here becomes a part of 'academic freedom,' a sacred duty. . . ." The **Crown** was horrified at the Board's considering the professors "guilty until they prove themselves innocent," and at its failure to distinguish between dialectical materialism as a system of philosophy and the advocacy or use of force and violence.

But at Queens, too, the spark lit no bonfires. A faculty member there, who remembers the Thirties without fear or shame, told the GUARDIAN he finds his students still decent but not given to controversy:

"They don't even argue in the lounges about music and art the way we did. . . . This is a generation that grew up in the cold war."

Correction

In the GUARDIAN of Oct. 18, a review of the two pamphlets, **Income "Revolution"** by Victor Perlo, and **Billionaire Corporations** by Labor Research Assn., listed the price wrongly as 75c a copy. The price of each is 35c, both obtainable from Labor Research Assn., 80 E. 11th St., New York City 3.

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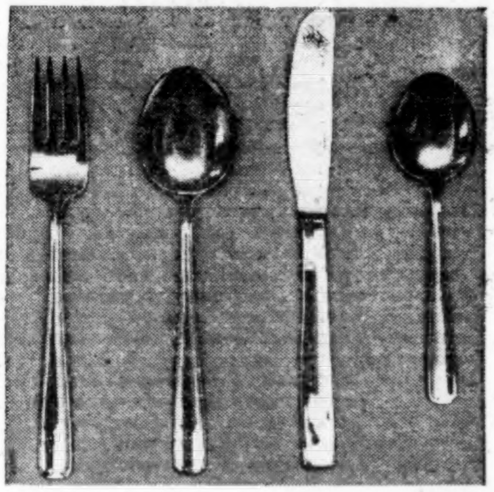

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the SPECTATOR

Home, but a stranger still

WHEN THE WORD GOES OUT that a book has been published which helps expose the barbed-wire brigade (McCarthyism, Brownellism, call it what you will), one hears it eagerly. That's how it was with William L. Shirer's **Stranger Come Home**. I took it with pleasure, read with mounting exasperation and ended with disgust.

Shirer's story is of Raymond Whitehead, American correspondent with 25 exciting years abroad, understandably anxious to raise his two children in America as Americans and to water his own roots again. An old colleague, Bob Fletcher, now v.p. of a big network, signs him to a $1,000-a-week job as a Sunday commentator and he brings his family to New York and a bright new world.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"No, you move over. As a Liberal I can't sit on either the right or left."

The author insists with rather more emphasis than usual that Whitehead and all other characters are imaginary; but we know that Shirer spent 20 years abroad as a correspondent, has two children and returned to broadcast on Sundays for CBS. The book jacket pointedly remarks that Edward R. Murrow was responsible for Shirer's CBS job, which he no longer has. The reader assumes, therefore, that Whitehead speaks for Shirer. Fletcher moves through the book like a mournful Murrow, along with a liberal lawyer (Morris Ernst?), a constipated columnist (Pegler?), assorted publishers and advertising agency creeps, and a woman ex-Communist who is a composite horror too decomposed for autopsy.

After a few straightforward broadcasts, the sniping and the warnings come—from Fletcher too. When Whitehead's best friend Steve Burnett (John Carter Vincent?), a State Dept. counsellor in Switzerland, is attacked by Senator O'Brien (guess who that is), Whitehead defends him on the air and finds himself on the sidewalk, then in the dock before O'Brien.

Miss Composite Horror, an old girl friend, fingers him as a Soviet agent and Whitehead is judged guilty in a majority committee report. Burnett is cleared by the State Dept. but resigns in the knowledge that his career is dead. Hand-in-hand, the two old friends go off to Connecticut to raise cows and write—Whitehead with a $2,500 advance and a no-punches-pulled nod from his publisher, and Burnett with a $6,500 pension. The finale is a combination of Grandma Moses' "Home for Christmas" and Alger's **Pluck and Luck**—without a hint of Hiss.

SOUNDS REASONABLE ENOUGH, so why get angry? Because Shirer insists throughout that it's a case of mistaken identity: O'Brien simply cannot understand that Whitehead had turned communism down long before the word Joe was a dirty smudge of ink in a headline; that he knew from the start communism and fascism were two peas in a pod; that it's cricket to vilify and jail "communists" but you violate the rules of the game when you go after liberals.

No matter how many times Shirer lets his hero be cuffed, flushes another FBI informer out of the sewer, expresses shock at the corruption of our culture, he cannot see that McCarthy-O'Brien-Brownell mean him; that they will reach into the Connecticut cow barn for him too; that the mood cannot be Grandma Moses but a grim realization that we're all in this thing together, even if we do disagree on Debs' place in history.

For all Shirer's reputation as a reporter, his analysis of world affairs is sometimes ludicrous: Whitehead, hungry for work, wants to go to Korea as a correspondent when the war breaks out. Nobody will have him. The electric bulb lights: of course, now that the U.S. is tied down in Korea, the Russians will march on Europe. He goes. Then this entry in his diary:

> "Berlin, Aug. 12, [1950]: The Red Army is not going to march. There will be no Third World War just now. Of that I am fairly certain after a fortnight in Vienna, Western Germany and here. Our military intelligence says flatly that there is no evidence that the Soviet army is being reinforced or that it is building up its own supplies."

So he comes home—still persuaded of the Russian threat.

THIS IS A TIME of searching among America's progressives—a searching for ways and means to break out of the smothering curtains which two cold-war administrations have placed between us and the majority of America. In the search we seek allies among those who disagree with us in many areas but believe, as we do, that man was not placed on this earth to end up as radioactive ash or useless hulk behind barbed wire.

Must we in our search grasp at such straws offered by a smug man who yells, even as the hairy hand reaches for his throat: "You got the wrong man—I hate the Reds, always did?" I don't think America's salvation lies that way. It is quite possible to be anti-Communist or non-Communist and write an honorable book; it is not possible to write an honorable book based on the Big Lie—the equation of communism and fascism.

Furthermore, this is a badly written book.

—**James Aronson**

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